PARA-MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

IN CALIFORNIA

1965

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Department of Justice

LIBRARY AND COURTS BUILDING, SACRAMENTO 95814

April 12, 1965

Honorable "J" Eugene McAteer
State Senator
State Capitol Building
Sacramento, California 95814

Dear Senator McAteer:

Attached is our report on private armies in California.

This report was prepared by agents of our Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation. It encompasses activities of these groups dating back to 1961 in California.

The report clearly shows the threat to the peace and security of our state which is posed by the existence of these groups. They embrace violent racial and political doctrines. They have lost faith in our system of government. They continually plot armed activity while skirting outright sedition.

Documented in this report are the types of arms and maneuvers in which these groups indulge, as well as their philosophies.

It is our hope that this report reveals the need for SB 184 which you introduced at our request. I hope it will be of help to you in achieving passage of this needed legislation to outlaw these vigilante groups.

Sincerely,

Thos C Lynch

THOMAS C. LYNCH
Attorney General

cc: Senate Judiciary Committee
Senator Hugh Burns, Senate President Pro-Tem
Assemblyman Jesse Unruh, Assembly Speaker
Assemblyman James Mills (Co-Author)

INTRODUCTION

There is before the State Legislature a bill which proposes to outlaw para-military organizations.

This report has been prepared for the purpose of providing information concerning some of the organizations that might be affected by such legislation. The report is intended to serve as an introduction to the several groups, and as such it touches only upon the salient features of these organizations. An attempt has been made to keep it as brief as possible, and at the same time to give sufficient coverage to acquaint the reader with some of the background, ideology, activities, and goals of the organizations.

It should be emphasized that the organizations under examination in this report do not constitute the total of the groups which might come within the framework of the proposed legislation. These were selected for treatment here only because they have been mentioned most often in connection with the bill. There are other organizations and groups which are active in this state at the present time which also would be affected.

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

The ANP is wholly the creation of George Lincoln Rockwell. Directly modeled after its German predecessor, it embraces all the ideology of the former: extreme racism, anti-semitism, Aryan supremism, military posturing, and, above all, the Fuehrerprinzip (the leadership principle whereby Rockwell stands as the sole authority of the party). Under his tutelage, it has managed to hold together for a number of years, and, by dint of boldly executed publicity stunts, appears stronger than it actually is. Its headquarters is located in Arlington, Virginia, with a few small units scattered about in various states. The Arlington headquarters has suffered from a chronic lack of finances and a constant turnover in Nazi membership. Despite all the problems with which he has caused himself to be beset, Rockwell has managed to maintain a semblance of an organization which he could use for his purposes.

Rockwell was born March 9, 1918, in Bloomington, Illinois, the son of a famous vaudeville comedian, "Doc" Rockwell. A talented artist and cartoonist, Lincoln attended Hebron Art Academy in Maine and served as the art editor of the campus magazine at Brown University. After leaving the university, Lincoln joined the United States Navy shortly after Pearl Harbor and rose to the rank of Commander as a naval pilot. (He particularly likes the

title of Commander, and it is obligatory for all Stormtroopers to address him as such. After 1972, his plans are to replace it with the more imposing title of Fuehrer of this nation.)

After leaving the Navy he married and had four children before divorcing his wife and returning to active duty in the Navy. It was while on a tour of duty in San Diego, he wrote later in his autobiographical book "This Time The World," that he was first introduced to and began his study of "the Jewish problem." Later, when he was transferred to Iceland, he read for the first time Hitler's Mein Kampf, which further study convinced him of the rightness of Hitler's political ideology, philosophy, purposes, and goals. In Iceland also he met his second wife, Thora Thors, the daughter of a prominent Icelandic family and the niece of the present ambassador from Iceland to the United States. On their honeymoon they travelled to Hitler's mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden as to a shrine. Eventually, this marriage too ended in separation after producing four children.

His first venture after leaving the service was publishing a slick paper magazine designed for servicemen's wives, entitled "U.S. Lady." It folded after the first few issues. An ultra-conservative organization which he began in the Washington area proved equally abortive. Through John Kasper, who had made a name for himself as a segregationist agitator in Clinton,

Tennessee, Rockwell was introduced to Rear Admiral (retired) John Crommelin. Crommelin, a fanatical anti-Semite and anti-Negro agitator, was then campaigning for the post of Governor of Alabama. For a short time Rockwell aided his campaign, but after a quarrel the two fell apart and Rockwell left. In the summer of 1956 he began working for Robert Snowden, who was organizing a conservative pressure group called "The Campaign for the 48." This relationship too, ended with a quarrel. Moving to New York City, he worked briefly for the American Mercury.

Sometime in 1957-58 Rockwell met Noel Arrowsmith, a wealthy and aristocratic Baltimore anthropologist who dabbled in anti-Semitic research. He generously financed Rockwell in establishing a paper organization called "The National Committee To Free America From Jewish Domination." A house was rented in Williamsburg County, and Rockwell established himself as the figurehead leader of the Committee. He decorated the house with Nazi banners and pictures of Hitler, and began to conduct himself as a junior grade Hitler. This open apeing of Naziism caused a breach between Rockwell and his financial backer which eventually resulted in Rockwell being evicted from the Williamsburg premises. Rockwell then found a second, but not so prosperous financial angel, one Floyd Flemming. Flemming, a contributor to John Kasper and secretary of his Seaboard White Citizens Council in

Washington, D.C., purchased a two-storied frame house in the Arlington suburbs and leased it to Rockwell. Flemming also provided funds for the emergent party to begin operations.

With that launching, Rockwell busied himself in setting up a miniscule version of Hitler's Nazi Party. The house in Arlington was decorated with Nazi banners, symbols, and insignia, and a nearby house was converted into a barracks for the Stormtroopers. From the beginning, the operations at headquarters were carried out on pseudo-military lines. Rockwell, in his rank of "Commander" demanded absolute and unquestioning obedience. His chief aides held the ranks of "Major," and "Captain," "Lieutenant," and at the bottom were the Stormtroopers. Nazi uniforms and regalia were worn, and the Stormtroopers were drilled in military formations. On occasion the Commander held party ceremonies where awards, citations, and medals were presented for outstanding achievements; these ranged from written citations through the "Medal of Merit" to the "Order of Adolf Hitler" available in bronze and silver. On the other hand, breaches of party discipline resulted in "courtsmartial."

As he attracted new sympathizers and members, his "movement" began to take shape and to be pointed in the direction which it has followed ever since. By keeping himself in the public eye he has been able to attract to his party sufficient support and

fluctuating membership to maintain himself on the public scene.

In his voluminous correspondence he had early made contact with other like-minded individuals in other countries, one of those being Colin Jordan, a British Nazi who headed the British National Socialist Movement. Principally between those two, and seconded by Nazis in other countries, there evolved a proposal for the establishment of a world-wide organization which would unify the Nazi groups in the several countries. Plans were made for an organizational meeting to be held in Britain in August 1962. The meeting was held, and there was founded an organization to be known as the "World Union of National Socialists," or "WUNS." The founding document, which described the new organization as a union of Nazi groups acknowledging the "spiritual leadership" of Adolf Hitler, set forth the following purposes and objectives:

> "...to work toward the unity of all White People in a National Socialist World order..."
>
> To oppose... "the international Jewish Communist and Zionist apparatus of treason and subversion" by means of a "monolithic, combat-efficient, international political apparatus..."
>
> To make... "suitable arrangements with non-White leaders of other races to advance racial dignity and justice for each race on the basis of total and absolute geographic separation of the races..."
>
> To... "work for just allocations of suitable and reasonable portions of the earth's surface for the exclusive sovereignty of the Black Race, of the Yellow Race, of the Red Race, and of the Brown Race..."

To... "work toward an eventual world Order based on Race, with just representation from each racial group..."

"... to find and accomplish on a world-wide scale a just and final settlement of the Jewish problem..."

Pro-tem officers were elected, Colin Jordan becoming International Leader, and Rockwell becoming Deputy International Leader.

Following the conference, Rockwell went into hiding, but was discovered and deported by the British Government as an undesirable alien on August 9, 1962. The British Government also moved against Jordan and his organization, and on October 2, 1962, Jordan and three other leaders of "Spearhead" -- the military arm of the British Nazi organization -- were tried on charges of organizing, training, and equipping the "Spearhead" group for the use of physical force for political purposes. They were found guilty, and drew varying jail terms, Jordan being sentenced to nine months.

Rockwell has continued to work in behalf of WUNS, and to identify his party as an affiliate of that international organization. The ANP publications customarily stress this affiliation, and feature news stories and pictures of the activities of Nazi groups in other countries. Such groups have been named as being active in West Germany, Britain, France, Ireland, Belgium,

Argentina, Chile, Australia, Denmark, Spain, Norway, Sweden and Iceland.

An example of the ANP's affiliation with the international order was afforded in the summer of 1963 when the West German government, alarmed at the rapid revival of German Nazism, launched a giant crackdown and made wholesale arrests of many of the leaders in the new Nazi underground movement. The WUNS protested this action by staging picketing of German embassy buildings in several countries. Rockwell's ANP uniformed Stormtroopers did their part by picketing the West German Embassy in Washington, D.C., and also the West German Consulate in New York City.

These latter-day Nazis pay homage to the "spiritual leadership" of Adolf Hitler, and conduct memorial services on his birthday. As reported in an ANP publication on such a recent occasion: "On the great day, April 20th, the Leader's Birthday, Nazi leaders from Chile to Iceland and from Australia to Madrid held hushed and impressive memorial services for the Hero who saved White, Christian, Western Civilization from Bolshevik, race-mixing catastrophe."

The central theme in Nazi publications is that "Nazism, far from being anything evil, is the White Man's only defense against the greatest evils in the world, Communism and race-mixing." And, according to the tenets of the Nazis, behind those two evils

looms the menace of Jewry. The creed of the American Nazi was fairly well capsulized recently by "Captain Ralph R. Forbes, Commanding, Western Division" when he wrote:

> "..... We oppose Communism and all those connected with that dangerous conspiracy. We recognize that the Jewish people are primarily to blame for the existence of Communism. Jews founded Communism, and they have always been the driving force behind it..... We believe in preservation of the white race, and we oppose the mixing of the races. Integration must eventually lead to intermarriage and mongrelization. Our country can rise again from a foreign military attack, but once our people are mongrelized, it can never rise again. We advocate the voluntary return to their native Africa of all Negroes. Those who wish to remain here will be segregated, second class citizens. We recognize that in the field of racial destruction the eternal Jew is again at work....."

On the domestic scene, Rockwell has sought to expand and strengthen his "movement," however despite all his efforts he has not been able to build his party to any significant size. The Arlington headquarters is customarily staffed with anywhere from a dozen to two dozen Stormtroopers. Additionally, there are units of varying strength located in other parts of the country. Members have stated that at any given time Rockwell could mobilize less than 150 uniformed Stormtroopers nationwide. He has other front groups, however, which bolster his position. One of those groups is FAN -- "Fighting American Nationalists." An intra-party joke is that the initials actually stand for "Future American Nazis." FAN was established as an operation for those members who do not

wish to be publicly identified as Nazis. Also, behind those front groups are the assortment of sympathizers who can be relied upon to forward contributions when the Nazis perpetrate some action resulting in widespread publicity.

In the past three or four years the American Nazis have managed to keep themselves in the public eye by the staging of demonstrations on a variety of fronts. In their picketing activities they have with some frequency been involved in violence, and on some occasions near-riots have taken place, and some of the Nazis have been arrested and served jail sentences. Following such occurrences the ANP publications have lauded the heroic members as martyrs to the cause. Illustrative of the ANP's activities on the national scene are the following incidents:

> When public interest was focused on the invasion of the South by the "Freedom Riders" in the summer of 1961, Rockwell's Stormtroopers followed in their path in a so-called "Hate Bus" decorated with anti-Negro and anti-Jewish slogans. The Hate Bus travelled in the same general route of the Freedom Riders from Washington, D.C., southward to New Orleans, where the police ordered the removal of the signs. In that city on May 24, 1961, Rockwell and nine of his followers picketed a theatre showing the film "Exodus" and a NAACP meeting, and were arrested for disturbing the peace. While in jail they copied the Freedom Riders by going on a hunger strike.
>
> In that year and following, the ANP made something of a project out of picketing theatres showing the "Exodus" film. The Nazis staged demonstrations in Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D.C., etc., and at some of those "actions" there was violence and near-riots.
>
> On September 28, 1962, an American Nazi Party member,

Roy James, made a fistic attack upon the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., as the Negro integrationist was addressing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, Ala.

In April 1963, in Washington, D.C., ANP members Karl Allen and Dave Peterson attempted to disrupt a Negro demonstration by joining the marching demonstrators dressed in ape-like costumes and carrying a large anti-Negro banner. At other demonstrations Stormtroopers in uniform and carrying anti-Negro banners sought to disrupt the demonstrations.

On September 3, 1964, an ANP member disrupted a session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., when he rushed from the audience toward a witness, in an attempted assault.

On August 24, 1964, in Atlantic City on the Boardwalk in front of the Convention Hall during the Democratic Party convention, eight ANP members in uniform appeared carrying signs "Lyndon Johnson is a Traitor." Police rescued them from the crowd after a brief but wild brawl, and placed them under arrest. (One of the Nazis in that incident was "Lieutenant" Harry Blair, who is presently heading the San Francisco unit of the Party.)

On January 4, 1965, the proceedings in the House of Representatives in Washington were disrupted when a bizarre figure raced past the guards into the chamber, shouting, "I'ze the Mississippi delegation." The intruder, who identified himself as ANP member Robert Lloyd, was dressed in black tights, a fur-like black loin cloth, top hat, and with blackened face. As he was dragged away, he shouted "Long live Rockwell."

The attitude with which the party members view that type of "action" is well illustrated in the party biographies which are published, extolling the heroes of the movement, as follows:

"MAJOR KARL R. ALLEN, Deputy Commander. Joined August 1961. Veteran of 6 missions. Lone White Man to publicly give speech against nigger march in D.C., August 28 against police ban (for which he was jailed); led bloody Philadelphia IV (Picket-fight at Anti-Defamation League); recently jumped

on stage in Danville, Va., and told off Martin Luther King before packed hall of coons; is largely credited with getting Party on organized, business-like basis internally; is holder of Party Prison Medal and Medal of Merit; received Letter of Commendation for outstanding organizational and administrative work; is graduate of Florida University and the Harvard Graduate School of Business. Former U. S. Army officer."

"MAJOR J. V. KENNETH MORGAN, Party Adjutant. Joined Spring 1958. First man to actively join Commander Rockwell. 13 missions, including Party's first street battle in 1959; veteran of famous 'Riot on the Mall' July 3, 1960; drove truck to Boston filled with Nazis January 1961 in riot with 10,000 Jews and reds; holder of Adolph Hitler Bronze Medal for defending Commander at first headquarters. Wound Medal and 3 Prison Medals."

"CAPTAIN ROY JAMES, Commander's Body Guard. Joined Fall 1960. 17 missions. Boston riot; "Hate Bus" tour; leaped on stage in Birmingham, Ala., and bashed Martin Luther King in the face before hundreds of screeching coons September 9, 1962; commanded Chicago headquarters 1963; jailed with Commander in Emporia, Va., for 'starting up a war against the Negroes'; received Adolf Hitler Bronze Medal for defending Commander in Boston Riot; Adolf Hitler Silver Medal (highest award in Party) for defending White Race against raging coons in Birmingham. Holder of 4 Prison Medals."

Etc.

During the course of the Party's existence there has evolved from the membership a small hard core of seasoned veterans who have proven themselves in their value to the Party and in their dedication to the cause. Those men, as represented by the above, are the ranking officers of the Party today. While the membership in the lower eschelons fluctuates with comings and

goings, the elite of the Party in its positions of rank remain constant. They constitute the staff through which the Commander's programs are carried out. All available information indicates that the majority, if not all, of the officers of rank have no employment other than that of Party work.

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Turning to the California scene, the "Western Division" of the Party has never been represented by more than a handful of members. The first unit in the Los Angeles area came into existence sometime in 1960-61 and was headed by Leonard Holstein, age 20. Little progress was made under Holstein's leadership, and the active membership fluctuated, usually numbering about a dozen members. The group's public actions were limited: they picketed the Huntington Hartford Theatre in Hollywood when Negro entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr. was appearing there; and on March 24, 1962, they demonstrated in front of the Progressive (Communist) Bookstore in Los Angeles. (On the latter "action" Holstein was accompanied by two other Stormtroopers, one of whom was Robert Lewton who later emerged as an officer in the California unit of the National States Rights Party and the editor of its paper, "Attack.")

During that period of relative calm, the group sometimes indulged in combat training practice with weapons in the Palos

Verdes Hills. Their spirits were dampened when one of the Nazis, Robert F. Garber, Jr., was arrested for illegal possession of a machine gun which he had purchased as a de-activated piece and then converted into an operable condition.

April 28, 1963 was a turning-point for the local Nazis. On that date five uniformed Stormtroopers appeared before the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles where the American Zionist Council was conducting an observance of the 15th anniversary of the independence of Israel. The Nazis bore anti-Semitic signs mounted on 4 ft. x 1-1/2 inch staffs. They shoved their way into the crowd and, "as if by prearrangement," tore the signs from the staffs and began swinging wildly at everyone within reach. A melee ensued in which five police officers and four civilians were injured. The Nazis were tried and convicted on a variety of charges, and received varying jail and prison sentences.

That happening and its aftermath practically paralyzed the local movement for a period of time and its reactivation was slow and difficult. Rockwell assigned the task of rebuilding the unit to Captain Ralph P. Forbes, whose Party biography reads:

> CAPTAIN RALPH P. FORBES: "Commander Western Division, Joined December 1960. 8 missions. Philadelphia I, where he did 60 days solitary confinement in Moyamensing Prison for EXODUS picket; Boston riot 1961; bloody fight at White House picket Sept. 1962; Party legal officer; holder of Party Adolf Hitler Bronze

Medal; 2 Wound Medals; Prison Medal; Medal of Merit; and Letter of Commendation for Administrative work. Marine veteran; nominated for West Point."

Forbes' task was made more difficult by the lack of a headquarters. For a long time the meeting places were shifted about from location to location in various cities in Los Angeles County. Sometimes the attendance was only a half-dozen, however the average Friday night meeting was attended by ten to fifteen individuals -- some members, some prospective members, and some just curious neighbors. At length, in December 1964, a house was leased at 823 E. Colorado Boulevard, Glendale, Calif., to serve as a headquarters, meeting place, and residence for Forbes and his family. When it became known that the Nazis were establishing their headquarters at that location, there was immediate opposition; the owner took steps to evict them; and the City charged them with violation of zoning ordinances. The matter is still in dispute, and court actions are pending at this time.

With Forbes attempting to build up the strength of the Party in the Los Angeles area, a step was taken last month to spark the small unit in San Francisco to increased activity and growth by placing a new leader in charge of it. The order of appointment was:

"By order of Commander Rockwell, Lt. Harry Blair of National Headquarters, is being transferred to command

duty in San Francisco, California.

> "Lt. HARRY BLAIR is a three year Party veteran. He is a Headquarters trained man, with vast experience in street demonstrations. He rose through the ranks to become a Lieutenant and the Commander's personal body-guard here at National Headquarters. Lieutenant Blair has been in three full-scale riots while demonstrating against race-mixing and communist treason in Philadelphia and Atlantic City, New Jersey. Combat-ready and unafraid of jail, Lieutenant Harry Blair is ready to go full blast in San Francisco....."

For the present, Lt. Blair is spending a great amount of time assisting Capt. Forbes at the Western Division headquarters.

A recent "action" by the local group was the dispatching by Forbes of a bus load of Stormtroopers from the Glendale headquarters to travel to Sacramento and San Francisco to conduct demonstrations against Governor Brown. That occurred on the weekend of January 16-17, 1965. The principal activity took place in Sacramento where the Nazis briefly picketed the State Capitol and the Governor's Mansion.

A recent "action" took place February 2, 1965, on the steps of the Los Angeles City Hall where a demonstration was being conducted in protest over the jailing of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Selma, Ala. The proceedings were disrupted briefly when a uniformed Nazi named Daniel P. Skelley poured water on his uniform from a gasoline can and declared he was going to burn himself as a protest against "Race-mixing." He was escorted away by police after being offered a match by a television commentator.

COMMENTARY

The very existence of the Nazis in this country provides interesting material for a clinical study of that minute fraction of the population which accepts and actively supports an alien ideology of hatred and racial superiority which has been renounced and discredited in its homeland and elsewhere. No amount of propaganda picturing Adolf Hitler as a hero doing battle with the Communists in defense of "White Western civilization" can erase the ugly facts of history. Yet in this country there are individuals who have embraced fully the Nazi ideology in a latter-day imitation of the original.

There are those -- whose numbers are unknown -- who support the movement by sending in contributions. There are those -- numbered somewhere in the hundreds -- who have drifted into the movement, been converted and actively participated as members, then drifted out. Then there are the zealots -- numbered somewhere in the dozens -- who have for years dedicated their lives to the movement.

Among the supporters there are those in the classification of "angels" who can be relied upon either regularly or in times of financial crisis. It is said that Rockwell can turn to about twenty such "angels" in acute necessity. The other

contributions customarily result from "actions" which receive widespread news coverage, or from any other type of publicity.

Publicity serves as the life blood of the American Nazi Party; without it the movement would wither and fade into obscurity. Illustrative of this fact was the financial gain derived from the well-publicized riot at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on April 28, 1963. The news media coverage was fairly extensive and triggered an avalanche of contributions to the California Party, which up to that time had been poverty-stricken. From a source considered reliable, it is said that these contributions totaled approximately $7,000.

Further, there are the funds received by the front groups. Reportedly some of those funds are funneled to the use of the Party. "Captain" Ralph Forbes and his Western Division have used such fronts as: "Keep America White Committee," "Keep Glendale White Committee," "Committee to Gas Martin Nigger Coon," "Fighting American Nationalists" (F.A.N.), "California Independent Voters Educational Association," and others. Generally, the propaganda material sent out by those fronts has been similar to the Party outpourings.

Since their finances and membership growth are directly related to their publicity, all "actions" are programmed in consideration of the amount of publicity they will yield. To

guarantee the fullest amount of coverage, it is standard practice to send out announcements to all news media well in advance of the planned "action." An ANP tactic giving an impression of greater numbers than they actually have is to send busloads of members from Los Angeles to other cities for demonstrations. While they may pick up a supporter or two in those cities, the majority of the demonstrators are from Los Angeles County. Such trips have extended as far away as Phoenix, Arizona.

A young man being inducted into the strange world of Nazism first serves as a Probationary Stormtrooper and does not achieve the status of full Stormtrooper until he has participated in at least five "actions" that the Nazis consider potentially dangerous. The recruit's participation is duly recorded and recognition given for outstanding achievements. (As in military terminology in which an "action" is a salient happening in a campaign, in Nazi lexicography an "action" is a salient happening in their campaign to achieve control of this country by 1972.) In that regard there comes to mind immediately two incidents of recent occurrence -- the disruption of the orderly procedure of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. by a Nazi in blackface and outlandish costume, and the spectacle of a uniformed Nazi pouring water from a gasoline can over himself and threatening immolation before a crowd on the steps of the Los Angeles City Hall -- and it is conjectured whether

or not those senseless performances will entitle the perpetrators to special recognition amounting to a Letter of Commendation, the Medal of Merit, or possibly even the Order of Adolf Hitler, in bronze. And that leads to the consideration of the individuals who would commit such acts, and who could afterwards bask in the applause of their fellows for their heroic behavior in advancing the cause.

Those in a position to know are in general agreement that the Party membership falls within three classifications:

1) Those possessing a good educational background and above average intelligence.

2) Those of a medium level of intelligence and schooling, but well-versed in German Nazism and National Socialism.

3) Those of little education and limited intelligence who lack the capacity of comprehension. It is within this classification that the majority of the membership assertedly falls.

Further, it is said that the general statement can be made that the members are the misfits and maladjusted of society; and that their individual anti-social behavior is, through Party membership, carried over into group anti-social behavior. That statement appears to be supported in some measure by their criminal records. Of sixty-five known California members, past and present, thirty-one have records totaling 131 arrests. Eleven of the thirty-one have served or are currently serving sentences in State prisons.

The 131 arrests were for offenses ranging from misdemeanors to felonies such as robbery, burglary, auto theft, narcotics, sex perversion, carrying concealed weapons, assault, assault with a deadly weapon, rape, possession of machine guns, indecent exposure, and assault with intent to commit murder.

The Friday night regular meetings of the Western Division Nazis vary somewhat in their programs. Some are conducted in a formal military manner with members wearing uniforms. Others are conducted informally. Some of the members never wear uniforms. Generally, the meetings are devoted to discussions of the Party's objectives and activities, sometimes reading from Hitler's Mein Kampf, how the Party will gain control of this country by the target date of 1972, how the nation will be governed under the Nazis, and naturally the group's activities at the local level; picketing, demonstrations, etc. The central theme of the membership discussions is that the American Nazi movement is patterned after its predecessor, and that in all practical aspects it is an attempted continuation of the parent German movement, even to and including Hitler's program for the solution of "the Jewish problem."

Such is the American Nazi movement of today. As has been frequently expressed by knowledgeable observers of the scene, the antics of George Lincoln Rockwell and his fellows are ludicrous

and politically insignificant; almost as much so as were the antics of Adolf Schickelgruber and his fellows in the Germany of the 1920's.

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NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

The NSRP is largely a one-man project. Edward R. Fields is the guiding spirit of the Party and its authoritarian leader. Today its headquarters is located in Birmingham, Alabama, from which the party organ is issued and the activities of half a dozen "state units" directed. NSRP is both anti-Negro and anti-Semitic, but it has always considered Jews the principal enemy and the Negro civil rights movement merely an instrument of a Jewish conspiracy. Fields has never given membership figures but claims that NSRP is the third largest political party in the United States. That claim has been challenged by others.

In tracing the genesis of this organization, it is found that Fields had a considerable background of experience with hate groups before he founded the Party. In 1946, at the age of 14, while a student at Marist College, a prep school in Atlanta, Georgia, he joined the Columbians, a fascist stormtrooper group led by Emory Burke. (The Columbians, founded in post-war Georgia by Ira Jett and Emory Burke, was a para-military combat group that actively plotted a take-over of the State of Georgia. Following a series of disturbances, Burke and the other officers were seized, along with considerable stores of arms, ammunition, and explosives -- and a list of public officials and private citizens to be exterminated

when the Columbians rose to power. Burke was sentenced to three years in prison.) Following Burke's conviction, Fields worked on a "Free Emory Burke Committee," and was associated closely with his fellow committeeman, General George Van Horn Mosely. In 1952, while attending law school in Atlanta, Fields joined with a fellow student, Jesse B. Stoner, in a paper organization called the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. While Stoner continued his studies and was ultimately admitted to the Georgia Bar, Fields dropped out and attended the Palmer School of Chiropractics in Davenport, Iowa, from 1953 until 1956. While there he was active in several organizations, then moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where he practiced chiropractics. In Louisville, he joined with Millard D. Grubbs in the activities of Grubbs' "Citizens Council," a white supremacy group. In 1957 he was one of the organizers of an anti-Semitic, anti-Negro "Action Group" called the United White Party. (One of the other founders was Matt Koehl, former leader of the young 'Elite Guard' of the Hitler-emulating National Renaissance Party, and who later served as Security officer of the National States Rights Party until 1962 when he went over to Rockwell's American Nazi Party.) Sometime thereafter the United White Party merged with a segregationist group called the States Rights Party, and from that coalition there emerged the National States Rights Party in 1958. In its development, the NSRP has absorbed several smaller groups. In early 1961

the NSRP joined the "Northern European Ring," an international fascist group of associations, and was welcomed by the British National Party into its "circle of friendship and cooperation."

Turning back to Fields' long-time associate, Jesse B. Stoner, it is interesting to note that he had a similar background in hate groups. In 1942, at the age of 18, he was a "Kleagle" (organizer) of the Ku Klux Klan group in Chattanooga. He later was a member of the Columbians. In 1946 he announced that he was founding a new party which would out-Hitler Hitler, whom he termed a moderate. The Stoner Anti-Jewish Party, which proposed to make Judaism a crime punishable by death, received 541 out of 30,000 votes cast in 1948 when Stoner ran for Congress. In 1952, as law students in Atlanta, Stoner joined with Fields in changing the name of the Stoner Anti-Jewish Party to the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. Later, following the organization of the new NSRP, Stoner became its general Counsel. In 1959, he became Imperial Wizard of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which opened its official four-state headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, during the summer of that year. Stoner continues to publish a small Klan bulletin in Atlanta, as well as serving actively in NSRP.

Originally, the headquarters of NSRP was in Jeffersonville, Indiana, at the home of a member. In 1960 headquarters was moved

to Birmingham, Alabama, to a stone building at 1865 Bessemer Road, which it has continued to occupy to the present time. The building was outfitted to resemble a military headquarters, decorated with Confederate flags and plaques picturing the thunderbolt symbol, and including a bunkroom for members. It was at that time that Fields reconstructed NSRP along more military lines. The thunderbolt symbol continued to be used -- the symbol formerly used by the Columbians -- and a flag was adopted which consisted of the Confederate Stars and Bars with a lightening bolt superimposed over it. A Party uniform was designed consisting of white shirt, black tie, Sam Browne belt and black trousers, and with armbands bearing the thunderbolt design. For a time the military discipline at headquarters was reportedly almost as strict as that maintained by Rockwell's Nazis, but apparently that was relaxed as time went on.

The Party creed and objectives may be gleaned from the following excerpts from the Preamble to the Party's constitution:

> "We of the National States Rights Party believe in the Christian heritage of our people, the White Race and the Nation which the White man created out of the wilderness of this continent. . . . We believe in the principles laid down by our forefathers in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights contained therein. . . . We will not allow the blood of our people to be polluted with that of black, yellow, or mongrel peoples. . . . All that is patriotic, good, clean, and decent springs forth from the foundations of our White folk. . . . We dedicate ourselves to the task of saving

> America and the White Race and the preservation of the pure blood of our forefathers, so that all future generations which come after us will be born as White children with a creative intelligence that will strengthen our civilized influence over the world for the good of all mankind....."

As Fields has frequently written in the Party organ, "The Thunderbolt," the Party's objectives would be accomplished by mass deportations of members and descendants of "mongrel" races; and with reference to those who declined to leave: "Later on the country would have to be purified." Those wholesale deportations would be accompanied by confiscation of the property of the deportees.

> Fiftieth issue anniversary of The Thunderbolt of April 1963: "Our Party, upon being elected to national power, will deport the Jews to Madagascar and confiscate their ill-gotten wealth for the benefit of the American people. When the Jews are gone, we Americans will own rich America. We want our money back. The Jews have our money and we want it back. When we get it back, we will enjoy a genuine and lasting prosperity, with plenty for all....."

As a political party, NSRP files quarterly financial reports with the Clerk of the House of Representatives. In 1961 its reported income totalled $15,555 with expenditures of $14,209. The 1963 report showed an increase -- $44,201 income, offset by expenditures of $42,828. Fields' salary was shown to have risen from $300 per month in 1961 to $550 per month in 1963. The only other salaried position listed was that of associate editor.

In its political activity, the Party has consistently supported candidates whose ideologies were in consonance with that of the Party. It has supported the well-known racist Admiral John G. Crommelin in his many unsuccessful tries for political office. Prior to the last national election, a series of articles in The Thunderbolt, advanced as candidate for president, John Kasper, and for vice-president, NSRP attorney J. B. Stoner. (Kasper at that time was an automobile dealer in Nashville, Tennessee. He was the founder and "director" of the Seaboard White Citizens Councils. This group, which was not affiliated with the federated Citizens Councils of America, was described as a Hitler-inspired movement to deport Negroes and de-citizenize Jews. Kasper served three jail terms for leading rioting against school integration in Clinton and Nashville, Tennessee.) The proposed platform of the candidates encompassed the complete program of the NSRP; purifying America through deportation of Negroes and other inferior races and the confiscation of Jewish wealth.

The NSRP has qualified in several Southern states as a political party, although much of its program appears to be devoted to that of a racist "Action Group." Some understanding of its activities can be gleaned from the following samplings:

On October 12, 1958, a Jewish synagogue was dynamited in Atlanta, Georgia. Five men were subsequently arrested for the crime, and all five were identified as members of the NSRP. Those charged were tried and acquitted.

In the fall of 1962 seven NSRP members traveled to Oxford, Mississippi, to join the protest against James Meredith's enrollment in the University. Some firearms were confiscated from the automobile belonging to one of the men.

In 1963 during the period of Birmingham's integration of schools and lunch counters, the NSRP was much in the forefront. NSRP members staged demonstrations, held rallies, and distributed thousands of leaflets and "Bulletins." Fields and other NSRP leaders addressed rallies and participated in demonstrations.

On September 15, 1963, a Baptist Church in Birmingham was dynamited and four children killed. Among the suspects arrested in connection with the bombing were a NSRP member, a Klansman, and another individual. All were charged with illegal possession of dynamite, fined, and sentenced to six months prison terms.

In September 1963, seven members of NSRP, including Fields and Stoner, were indicted by a Federal grand jury on a charge of conspiring to interfere with the Federal Court's desegregation order. In February 1964, the cases were dismissed.

On July 23, 1964, in St. Augustine, Florida, warrants were issued for the arrest of four men accused of burning a cross on private property. Those named in the warrant were two Klan leaders, NSRP member Conrad Lynch, and NSRP attorney J. B. Stoner.

The NSRP has been intensely active in its opposition to the desegregation issue, and has been a storm center in the Negro civil rights movement. In the summer and fall of 1963, it played a particularly active role in agitational action in northern

Florida, which added to the build-up of racial tensions which later exploded in St. Augustine. In early summer of that year there returned to NSRP headquarters from California where he had acted as State Organizer, a firebrand by the name of Conrad "Connie" Lynch. Lynch, a self-ordained Fundamentalist-type preacher, had a particular talent for rousing strong emotions in audiences. That talent was utilized by the NSRP and Ku Klux Klan attorney, J. B. Stoner, who teamed with Lynch in touring the northern part of Florida for the purpose of revitalizing the Klan in that area. They held recruiting meetings throughout September and October in what was termed a highly successful tour. Then in the following June when the racial tensions reached a crisis at the time the Reverend Martin Luther King went to St. Augustine to spark the Negro integration program there, Stoner and Lynch appeared on the scene to set off the explosion. By his nightly haranguings in the Slave Market, Lynch was credited with agitating the mobs to much of the bloody violence that took place in that city over a period of several days. Subsequently, the Florida Senate appointed an Investigating Committee to conduct inquiry into the situation, and the Committee report to the Legislature pointed to Lynch's appearances in St. Augustine's Slave Market, describing him as "accomplished at whipping a crowd into a riotous condition....."

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The August 1962 issue of the Thunderbolt announced the appointment of James P. Thornton as the California State Organizer for the NSRP. Thornton made a slow start by establishing a headquarters at his home in Garden Grove, California, and by distributing the Party literature at meetings of other organizations and holding small organizational meetings. From his contacts with the local American Nazi group, Robert Lee Lewton was influenced to leave the Nazi Party and join with Thornton in NSRP by becoming editor of the Party's local publication called "The Attack."

In early 1963 Thornton was named as State Director, Robert Lewton as Deputy Director, and the aforementioned Conrad Lynch as State Organizer. This shifting was apparently made in an effort to vitalize the movement in this State. Robert Barber was made District Director of Kern County; and Newman Britton was named to two posts, that of District Director of San Bernardino and of Security Division Chief of Staff. The Britton brothers operated a plastering contractors business in San Bernardino, and they reportedly employed Lynch in some capacity.

Thereafter, organizational meetings were held in various localities in Southern California. Those were spirited meetings at which Conrad Lynch delivered impassioned diatribes against the Jews and Negroes, and his vehement outpourings were matched by those of Neuman Britton. A contrast was afforded by the low-keyed

pitch of Thornton. The NSRP uniforms, banners, and symbols were much in evidence at those meetings.

The chain of churches called Church of Jesus Christ Christian headed by the Reverend Wesley Swift, and also the Open Bible Foundation Church in Bellflower presided over by the Reverend George Rigler, were used, among other meeting places, in that organizational drive. NSRP's The Thunderbolt, in urging its readers to attend those churches, described Rigler as "one of the best speakers on the Israel Identity Message." Conrad Lynch had for many years previously been associated with the Reverend Wesley Swift as a preacher in Swift's churches. In fact, it was an incident following such a meeting in Lynch's own assigned ministry, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian at 253 Cajon Boulevard, San Bernardino, that marked a turning point in NSRP's activities in this State. On February 22, 1963, at the conclusion of the meeting, several of the uniformed NSRP members repaired to a nearby coffee shop where they became involved in a quarrel with some high school students. The quarrel developed into a physical altercation in which one of the students was wounded by a pellet fired from a pellet gun assertedly in the hands of one of the NSRP men. Neuman Britton and his brother, Rufus R. Britton, were subsequently found guilty in a jury trial on charges of disturbing the peace and battery, and Conrad Lynch of disturbing the peace.

That incident marked the end of the organizational drive, and when Lynch was removed from his post as State Organizer by Fields because of his emotional extremism, and when Thornton moved to Birmingham to work at Party headquarters, the NSRP movement in this State came to a halt. Thornton became Associate Editor of The Thunderbolt until he quarreled with Fields, and thereafter he joined with other NSRP apostates in forming a new and rival organization called the American States Rights Party. The Chairman was named as James R. McDaniel, Sr., and the Information Director, Jerry Dutton, both ex-members of NSRP. The house organ of ASRP is entitled "The White American," and is an expensive, two-color tabloid published in Birmingham, Ala. The ASRP is also semi-military in its makeup. Its officers are listed according to military rank, and it too has a party uniform, white shirt with black embroidered shoulder tabs and black collar tabs, and black trousers. Thornton visited California in November 1964, seeking to enlist a State organizer, but from the silence following his visit it can be concluded that his quest was unproductive.

The NSRP has just recently taken a step aimed at another organizational attempt in California. The Party organ announced the appointment of Terrel R. Eddy to the post of State Chairman of the California Division of NSRP. Following that announcement, Eddy sent out a mimeographed letter bearing the date of January

29, 1965, addressed to "NSRP Friends and Supporters" soliciting funds for financing the start of a California unit. The mailing address of the new State Chairman was given as Box 17343, San Diego, California.

About three weeks later, Conrad Lynch and Neuman Britton made application to the City of San Bernardino for the use of the Civic Auditorium in that city for a meeting to be held under the joint sponsorship of the NSRP and the Christian Defense League. (The latter organization is one of the Rev. Wesley Swift's fronts described in the following chapter.) Other reports recently received give clear indication that the NSRP is again conducting an organizational drive in this State, and that except for the naming of a new State Chairman, the organizational work will be conducted by the same individuals as before. Thus, the direct connection between the NSRP and the Rev. Wesley Swift combine will continue.

COMMENTARY

Fields, the man who heads this organization, and his close associate, Stoner, both served what might be termed apprenticeships in their chosen field of activity through their memberships in the Columbians. The Columbians, it should be remembered, were not just another hate group of agitators, they were a band of insurrectionists engaged in a conspiracy to violently overthrow the government of the State of Georgia. It is of no small significance that the symbol of the NSRP was borrowed directly from the Columbians. Of more compelling significance is the fact that a close relationship was maintained with Emory Burke, the Columbians' leader, until it was ended, at least temporarily, by a quarrel in January 1963.

After serving three years in prison, Burke was released in 1949, and some time thereafter he worked for Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. In 1958, he worked for Admiral Crommelin in the Georgia gubernatorial campaign of that year. In that year also he was named as "Advisor" to NSRP. In August, 1962, he was appointed to the post of President of the "Patriotic National Center and School of Racial Studies and Leadership Training." That was a NSRP school located in Montgomery, Ala., which opened the following month to be a headquarters for the youth sections of all NSRP units, housed in a building containing

classrooms and a dormitory. In addition to that post, Burke was named director of the NSRP's speakers' bureau. He was honored by being issued NSRP membership Card #1. Following a close and long-time association, he quarreled with one of the Party's other officers, and according to The Thunderbolt, ". . . resigned to establish a one-man group of his own." It is not known whether or not the breach has been healed, but it was the continuing relationship itself which is of significance in this study.

There is the relationship of the NSRP with the Ku Klux Klan which is publicly established, and which requires no further elaboration. The program of activities which the Party conducted in connection with the Negro civil rights movement in the South, and which was briefly touched upon in this chapter, also speaks for itself.

The California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities in its Twelfth Report, 1963, gave some coverage to NSRP's organizational activities in early 1963, and reported this conclusion: "This organization is, in our opinion, more potentially dangerous than any of the American Nazi groups, as it is interested in activities that are far more vigorous and direct than the picketing that has become so popular in this country during the past few years."

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CALIFORNIA RANGERS

CALIFORNIA RANGERS

In many respects this is a continuation of the preceding chapter -- an exploration of the relationships between the individuals in the NSRP movement with like-minded individuals in California engaged in similar programs of activity.

In exploring those relationships, attention first is directed to the activities of the Reverend Wesley Albert Swift, a resident of Lancaster, California. In 1945, he was identified as a Ku Klux Klan organizer. Following a cross-burning incident in the Big Bear area in that year, he refused to testify at a State Attorney General's hearing into the matter. From that time, reports have been received of Klan organizational activity in the Antelope Valley, and inevitably Swift's name has been mentioned in connection therewith. In a recent article appearing in a national magazine, he was described as "a former Ku Klux Klan rifle-team instructor." Swift is a prolific organizer and has been instrumental in launching a complex of groups: The California League Against Communism, The Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation, The Christian Defense League, and The California Rangers. He was early associated with Gerald L. K. Smith, and in 1949 he shared the platform with Smith on a tour of the West Coast. In 1953, he became the legal representative of Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade.

In 1946, Swift founded a fundamentalist-type church called Church of Jesus Christ - Christian, which in the past two decades has been developed into a chain of such units from Southern California through the Central Valley to the San Francisco-Oakland bay area. According to Swift, the church extends to other states and overseas. Swift uses his pulpit to disseminate his political ideology.

Named as president of the church's "Eastern Conference" is the Reverend Oren Potito who ministers to one of the sect's churches in St. Petersburg, Florida. He was quoted recently as stating that the church had organized what he called "guerrilla-warfare units."

He said, "These 'survival groups' are designed to defend the country in case of a take-over. We have regular rifle practice, and our members go on maneuvers in jeeps and boats in different places in different states."

The Reverend Potito also is a member of the NSRP, and in the fall of 1962, he joined with other NSRP members in journeying to Oxford, Mississippi to protest against James Meredith's enrollment there. He was detained and some firearms were confiscated from his car.

A long-time associate of Swift's is the Reverend Conrad "Connie" Lynch, who served as minister at various of the Churches

of Jesus Christ-Christian, throughout California for a period of ten years. After Lynch was appointed State Organizer for the NSRP, he used Swift's churches for organizational meetings, and Swift actively joined in the program as a speaker.

When Lynch returned to California from Florida in 1964, he again associated with Swift in preaching in the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian, and in actively promoting the program of another of Swift's organizations, the Christian Defense League.

Another long-time associate of Swift's is Colonel William P. Gale, U. S. Army (ret), who in World War II served under General MacArthur in organizing guerrilla forces in the Philippines. His political sights have been aimed at the Governorship of California. He was the state chairman of the Constitution Party in 1957, and its candidate for governor. In 1962 he announced his candidacy for the governorship on a platform calling for the abolishment of both federal and state income taxes. Reportedly, he now aims at another try in the 1966 election by attempting to effect a coalition among the so-called extreme right groups in California and thereby qualifying a new political party.

In the spring 1964, the Colonel took an active part in rejuvenating one of Swift's organizations, the Christian Defense League, when a new financial backer -- James Oviatt of Los Angeles -- provided substantial assistance. While it was enjoying the

stimulus provided by the "angel," CDL started a publication called Christian Defense News, the first issue of which listed the CDL Eastern Regional Director as being Admiral John G. Crommelin. As one of its first steps the CDL sent out letters to "rightist" groups in which an invitation was extended to all such groups to join with CDL in a "united front," and through cooperative effort to gain additional strength in the accomplishment of common goals, stressing that CDL's purpose was to coordinate and render assistance, and not to absorb or take over any of the other groups. An inducement was added in the form of an offer to provide legal counsel in the prosecution of libel and slander actions for all groups and members joining with CDL.

Reportedly, talks were held with leaders of other groups, but the results of those talks have not been made manifest. Some time thereafter, Mr. Oviatt discontinued his support, and the CDL activities were reduced accordingly. All reports indicate that Gale is continuing his efforts toward achieving some type of coordinating influence among the different groups.

The Christian Defense League is described in its own publications as an organization designed to unite "white Christians" in opposition to such Negro and Jewish organizations as the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, the American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League, and B'Nai B'Rith. The major project of the

organization has been the compilation and distribution of a "Christian Buyer's Guide" which would serve as a directory of "white Christian" business firms recommended for patronage by "white Christians." The hate credo propounded by this organization has attracted to its ranks some individuals of extreme viewpoints, as is illustrated by the following incident:

> A Christian Defense League member named William H. Garland was arrested on October 30, 1964, at his home in Cucamonga where officers found him to be in possession of eight machine guns, of which six were operational, and nearly 100 other weapons, including rifles, shotguns, and pistols. A barn on the premises was found to be used as an ammunition dump for 105mm rockets, incendiary bombs, smoke bombs, flares, blasting caps, and thousands of rounds of ammunition. Garland's explanation was that he had amassed the arsenal as a "patriot" for the purpose of repelling "invaders."
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> His defense in this matter was handled by Attorney Bertrand Comparet of San Diego, a Director of the Christian Defense League. It might be noted that when Conrad Lynch and other NSRP organizers were arrested in San Bernardino on February 22, 1963, as a result of an altercation with high school students, attorney Comparet joined with the NSRP and KKK attorney, J. B. Stoner of Birmingham, Alabama, in handling their defense.

In examining the extent of the influence exercised by such leaders as Col. William Gale, Rev. Wesley Swift, Rev. Conrad Lynch, and others associated with them in this movement, it is helpful to concentrate attention on the leadership rather than on the several organizations which those leaders utilize for their purposes. The teachings and pronouncements of those leaders are largely

unchanged whether delivered from the pulpit or the speaker's platform, whether in print or on taped messages, and their converts come under their influence without regard for organizational labels.

Fundamentally, the ideology propounded by those men is identical in all major aspects with that of the NSRP, i.e., violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro, with emphasis placed upon the need for immediate action. As stated before, Conrad Lynch of the NSRP has been a minister in Swift's Church of Jesus Christ-Christian, for over ten years, and both have been named as being active in the Ku Klux Klan. Col. Gale has also preached in Swift's churches, and a few months ago an announcement was made concerning organizational plans to establish such a church in the San Fernando Valley with the Colonel named as minister.

The slight differences in objectives, purposes, and programs of the various organizations which make up the combine through which those leaders operate is of less significance than the fact that through those organizations the leaders propound the one basic ideology. Membership in any of the organizations brings an individual into a network of considerable size. It has been reported that the politically-oriented Christian Defense League and the religious Church of Jesus Christ-Christian, serve secondary functions of providing a screening process for militant-minded members of both to be graduated to the Rangers. Assertedly,

the whole complex of organizations can be looked upon as consisting of an outer circle, an inner circle, and a center hard core. The entire network must be considered in studying the activities and the influence wielded by those leaders.

The purpose of the Rangers is to build an underground network for the conduct of guerrilla warfare. No reliable figures are currently available, but all information indicates a small membership figure. The training program is said to encompass all the different activities which a guerrilla force would be called upon to undertake, ranging from intelligence to actual combat. The members assertedly are instructed to acquire firearms, and to practice in their use. In connection with the acquisition of firearms, it is of interest to take note of the following incident:

> In August 1963, Ranger member, George Joseph King, Jr., son of a retired admiral, was arrested in the act of selling a 50-caliber machine gun and a 9mm British Sten gun to undercover agents whom he had been led to believe were interested in joining the Rangers. That proposed transaction was to be the first of other deals in which King had claimed he could produce almost unlimited quantities of illegal arms.

Under Col. Gale's leadership, some of the recruitment effort has been directed toward former military servicemen to serve as an organizational nucleus. In furtherance of that program, the Colonel in 1963 transferred his American Legion membership to the

Signal Hill post where he and his follower, George Joseph King, Jr., joined in converting the post into a front for the Rangers. The Long Beach Press-Telegram featured an exposé of the situation. It revealed that the regular post meetings were adjourned to listen to speeches by Gale, and that many of the Legionnaires had joined Gale's Rangers, which the newspaper described as "a secret guerrilla group composed of persons devoted to extremist racial and religious beliefs." Acting upon those reports, the California American Legion governing board conducted a hearing, found the reports to be valid, and thereafter in June 1964, revoked the charter of the Signal Hill post.

Returning again to Rev. Swift, it should be noted he has purchased over a hundred concealable firearms in the past few years. Moreover, he maintains a firing range on his Kern County ranch, as well as a reported secret arsenal.

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COMMENTARY

This organization is designed as a secret underground guerrilla force, yet it is linked with other non-military organizations by a common ideology and leadership.

The California leaders of the group have intimate connections with the Ku Klux Klan, the National States Rights Party, the Christian Defense League, and the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian. They are associated with these groups both in California and in the southern United States.

It is in this perspective that the activities of the Rangers and its leaders must be viewed.

Reportedly as adherents become more involved in the racist ideology of any of the "front" organizations, they proceed from the more politically or religiously oriented organizations to the more military.

Col. Gale has aspired to the governorship of California. Assertedly he is continuing to cherish this dream. Some of his followers have joined such groups as the White Citizens Council reportedly to help effect an eventual amalgamation of extremist organizations which will result in the ballot qualification of a new political party in this State.

Thus, one can conjecture on the establishment of a new political group here having as its inner nucleus a secret guerrilla force -- the Rangers.

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MINUTEMEN

MINUTEMEN

This organization is headed by Robert DePugh of Norborne, Missouri. Its beginnings and objectives are set forth in a MM publication entited, "A Short History of the Minutemen," the initial portion of which is quoted below. The document is worthy of reflective study for it declares the credo of the Minutemen, which in substance is their complete disillusionment with the immediately past and present leaders of this country, their belief that a "pro-American" government cannot be established by peaceful political means, that an armed conflict is an imminent inevitability, and that the Minutemen should train themselves as a guerrilla force to engage the "enemy."

> "In June 1960, a group of ten sportsmen leased a small lake in Missouri and organized a duck hunting club. The next Sunday they started building duck blinds around the lake. Someone mentioned the current international crisis and another man said jokingly, 'Well, if the Russians invade us, we can come up here and fight on as a guerrilla band.'
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> "It would have probably ended right there but one of the members who had special forces training remarked that it might not hurt Americans to know a little more about defending themselves if this war ever degenerates to a last ditch stand. The next Sunday he brought along some of his training manuals that were read with interest by the other members. Slowly the joke turned into a serious project.
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> "Most books on guerrilla warfare have been written by persons with deep political convictions and we found that as we studied strategy and tactics we also became increasingly concerned with the world political situation.

"To a group of average Americans it came as a shock to suddenly realize that in the seventeen previous years the communists had succeeded in taking over 17 sovereign nations. We were surprised also to learn that only one had been taken over by military conquest. The other sixteen were lost to communism by internal subversion or negotiation. We began to wonder why and by what right two presidents of the United States agreed to turn over to the communists several independent nations in Eastern Europe and considerable territory belonging to our Chinese allies without ever asking the people of those countries who they wanted to be governed by.

"This was a case of ten average Americans gradually waking up. Gradually beginning to doubt whether or not our own government had done everything that should have been done to stem the tide of communist conquest.

"At first we tried to learn the answer from the printed literature of other conservative organizations and by inquiries to our Congressmen and Senators. Still we didn't feel satisfied. Therefore, we decided to start out on a six months project. Each one of us took some particular phase of the problem as his object for special study. We really dug for the facts. Each one of us spent all of that six months reading, studying, researching the libraries and joining various other organizations to learn what their proposed answer to the problem might be.

"We also began infiltrating various left-wing organizations to see what makes them effective and how it is that the communists can dupe so many otherwise sensible people into doing their work for them.

"Later we held a four day meeting to exchange information and during which we came to the following conclusions:

"1. Our diplomatic war against communism has already been lost by bunglers or traitors within our own government. Our enemies have been strengthened through unnecessary lend lease and foreign aid arrangements. Our traditional allies have been snubbed and alienated from us. By subscribing to and translating newspapers from several foreign countries, we learned that other nations of the free

world do not trust the leaders of American government to protect even their fellow Americans from communism.

"2. This diplomatic war has been and continues to be lost by appointed government officials beyond the reach of public opinion.

"3. We cannot win a diplomatic war against communism abroad until we first establish a genuinely pro-American government here at home.

"4. We also decided that a pro-American government could no longer be established by normal political means. In this one respect our conclusions differ from those of most conservative movements. There has not been one presidential election since World War II where the American public has had an opportunity to vote for a real American. There have been times when the candidates were built up by big public relations campaigns that sold them to the American people but when they were once in office they failed to act in their nation's best interest. Even the defeated candidates for president have shown by subsequent events to be little or no better than those elected. In each case the people have merely had an opportunity to vote for whoever they thought might be the lesser of two evils...usually a choice between two 'internationally minded' members of the CFR.

"5. The minority vote blocks, controlled labor unions and corrupt political machines so completely monopolize the American political scene that there is no chance for the average American citizen to regain control of his own destiny at the ballot box. All the media of mass communication are effectively controlled by the enemy so they can make the people think whatever they want them to think. Even if we could awaken enough Americans to the true facts and get out the vote for a really patriotic candidate then we must expect from past lessons that those votes would be stolen.

"6. Having come to these conclusions we decided that any further effort, time or money spent in trying to save our country by political means would be wasted and that we would be better off spending these limited resources on something that actually had a little chance of victory.

"7. We learned that the leaders of most other conservative organizations privately agree that it is politically impossible to elect a conservative government. Many of them, however, continue to hope that they can build up 'public opinion' into such a strong force that it will prevent our elected government officials from actually selling us out to the enemy. Here again we concluded that further efforts to alert public opinion would be largely wasted. A politician cares nothing about public opinion except as it may bring him votes or lose him votes. If he has enough votes guaranteed by labor, political and minority interest, then he doesn't give a hoot about public opinion and will not be restrained by it.

"8. In this short review we cannot start to even summarize the facts, data and logic which brought us to these conclusions. In fact, we did not want to accept these conclusions, but we felt they were forced on us by the facts. We concluded that the American people are moving inexorably toward a time of total control and frustration such as must have been felt by the people of Budapest and East Germany when they finally staged their suicidal revolts.

"Therefore, the objectives of the Minutemen are to abandon wasteful, useless efforts and to begin immediately to prepare for the day when Americans will once again fight in the streets for their lives and their liberty. We feel there is overwhelming evidence to prove that this day must come.

"Suppose even that we could somehow win by peaceful political means. Is it logical to assume that a group of people who have come this close to conquering the world will give up and withdraw simply because they lose an election? If we do not fight them, then they will certainly fight us.

Etc. . . . . .

Robert Bolivar DePugh was 38 when he founded the MM organization. A native of Independence, Missouri, he was educated at the University of Missouri, Kansas State, and Washburn. During World War II he saw one year's service with

the Coast Artillery at Fort Monroe, Virginia. Thereafter he worked for a variety of drug concerns in the Midwest, and in the late 1950's he started his own company, Biolab Corporation, a pharmaceutical supply house in Norborne, Mo., which he continues to operate at the present time.

Following the launching of the new organization, DePugh activated himself in setting up MM units wherever possible and of also absorbing smaller existing groups. He travelled extensively throughout the nation in furtherance of the project, and slowly in time there emerged a scattering of units in a variety of states.

On one such tour, in November 1961, DePugh visited Los Angeles for the purpose of conferring with the leader of a Minutemen-type group in San Diego. That group, called the Loyal Order of Mountain Men, had been formed and was headed by William Colley, a free-lance photographer. There had reportedly been correspondence between the two leaders, however it was said that DePugh had expressed reservations about some of Colley's actions. At any rate, the meeting which took place was between DePugh and Troy Haughton, another member of the group. The meeting received considerable coverage by the news media, and Haughton, using the pseudonym of Don Alderman, was named to head the California Minutemen organization. The publicity resulting from that meeting brought to light the fact that both Colley and Haughton were convicted

sex offenders who had failed to register with the local police as required by law. Each was then arrested for the offense of failing to register. That public disclosure dampened the Minutemen movement for a while. Haughton received a full vote of confidence from DePugh, and subsequently set about carrying out his organizational duties as regional coordinator. His position was also strengthened some time later when his rival, Colley, was arrested and jumped bond on a federal charge of theft of government property.

Haughton has continued to the present time to function as regional coordinator as a full-time occupation. Under his leadership, the Minutemen movement has made some gains in membership, however reliable information indicates that the total number of ACTIVE members reached a peak about a year ago and is now on the decline. All sources agree that the Minutemen organization is plagued by the same problem with which all other organizations are beset: that of maintaining member interest and participation. The problem is rendered much more acute in the Minutemen organization by reason of the fact that its structure is that of a series of isolated units deliberately walled off from other units, and in that vacuum of isolation the member loses the concept of participation. Consequently he loses interest and drifts out of the orbit of the movement. All reports agree that recently the Minutemen movement in this State has lost membership. These reports have

been supplied by active and inactive Minutemen members and their reports are admittedly only educated guesses, for information concerning such matters is a closely-guarded secret. Only Haughton and national headquarters have the records.

It is doubtful, in fact, if even Haughton could supply an accurate membership total because even he could not determine current active members as opposed to those who have lost interest and drifted out of the organization without the formality of resignation.

Of interest is the fact that the Minutemen members supplying those estimates place the total ACTIVE CALIFORNIA INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP from 100 to 600. It is the conclusion of these sources of information that the claims which DePugh has publicly made concerning the national membership are sheer bombast.

The Minutemen organization is designed to function as a secret underground network, and its routine operations in these times of peace are conducted along the lines of a training program for the hostilities to come. Each member is assigned a number which becomes his identification in all communications; he is warned about the use of the telephone in contacting headquarters; he is advised in the use of mail drops; he is warned to use two envelopes in organization correspondence and to place an opaque material between the inner and outer envelopes to prevent the letter from being read by means of infra-red

cameras; and he is instructed to employ a wide variety of stratagems and devices as "security" measures. However, it is the training of the members as a guerrilla force that represents the gravest potential danger in this organization. On the national scene there have been a number of instances of Minutemen members being found in possession of illegal weapons either used or intended for use in Minutemen training. There have also been such incidents in this State, as follows:

> On June 18, 1964, two self-admitted Minutemen, Willard Noble Holstine and Joseph Raymond Carey, were taken into custody by Burbank Police when found in possession of illegal weapons.
>
> On June 27, 1964, Minutemen member Adelbert Harold Schlapia was taken into custody in the Los Padres National Forest when found to be in possession of a veritable arsenal consisting of 33,000 rounds of assorted ammunition, three M-1 rifles, two M-1 carbines, two Czechoslovakian military rifles, some shotguns, a military 12-guage riot gun, 45-caliber automatic pistol, etc., in addition to a supply of gun powder and dynamite caps, and miscellaneous camping equipment.
>
> On October 16, 1964, Minutemen member Robert Romero was arrested by Los Angeles police when officers found in his home the following: seven machine guns, six rifles, four hand guns, thousands of rounds of ammunition and clips of ammunition, dynamite and dynamite caps, fuses, twenty hand grenades including smoke, gas, and explosive types, and seven booby traps.
>
> On March 26, 1965, agents of the Bureau of CII and officers of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department seized 370 machine guns and a number of silencers from the premises of the Erquiaga Arms Company in the City of Industry, Los Angeles County. The head of the firm, Juan Erquiaga, was known to have had dealings with the above-mentioned Minutemen, Harold A. Schlapia and Robert R. Romero, and also with Minuteman Keith Dwayne Gilbert who as of this

date is wanted for the theft of 1,400 pounds of explosives which were recovered from his residence, together with a cache of weapons and a supply of Minutemen literature. At the time of the seizure at the Erquiaga plant, the officers found a rifle left there for modification belonging to Terrel R. Eddy, mentioned in another chapter as the State Chairman of the National States Rights Party of California.

All information indicates that the Minutemen organization itself does not own illegal weapons, at least in California. All sources of information are in agreement that such weapons as are possessed by Minutemen are individually owned, and that many Minutemen do not own any contraband arms. The one piece that all Minutemen are required to have is a rifle. However, there appears to be every inducement and invitation to collect illegal arms, as is clearly illustrated in the following excerpts from the Minutemen Handbook which has just recently been offered to Minutemen members:

> "Carbines and sub-machine guns should be carried in the groups supply and issued only for special missions after the hostilities have started. When a M1 Carbine is encountered, it will be altered to M2 by the replacement or alteration of those parts necessary.....If at all possible Carbines should be fitted with infra-red snooperscopes whenever available.....Thompson sub-machine guns, Russian PPSH/41, and German MP/40 sub-machine guns should be accumulated as rapidly as possible together with a great supply of magazines (remember that under combat conditions it is impossible or next to impossible to reload magazines, and this should be kept in mind),

at least 300 rounds should be kept in the magazines for each gun....."

"Machine guns will be the hardest item of supply. Browning automatic rifles (BAR) are relatively plentiful and a first class weapon. Both U.S. and foreign (Belgian) weapons of this type are entirely suitable but should be immediately changed to 30/06 caliber. Not less than 20 magazines should be accumulated for each gun. The Browning belt fed weapons are fine when they can be obtained. Spare parts for the aircraft type are hard to come by. The only foreign designed gun that will be recommended is the Jap type 99 light machine gun in 7.7 mm. This can be altered to use BAR magazines and the chamber lengthened to take the 30/06 cartridge....."

"The mortar is one of the best light weight heavy fire weapons available to insurgent or guerrilla forces, and all heavy fire power should be based around the use of the mortar. 60mm mortars are available and are a fine compact weapon with one exception, the availability of ammunition. The old M2 model is by far the best, and should be complete with sight and mount....."

"Rocket Launchers or Bazookas - These are a very good and desirable item. When the United States 3.5" Bazooka cannot be obtained the German M43 88mm which is available can be altered so that U.S. shells can be used. The smaller 2.35 bazooka is a good weapon but ammunition for this is not available, in fact the only unit now using the 2.35 is Special Forces. 3.5 bazooka rounds can be purchased for as little as $4. each, though they are completely inactive, but can be activated again with little trouble....."

"All personnel should make every effort to have on hand as many hand and rifle grenades as possible. Hand grenade bodies (practice type) are usually to be found without any trouble. Regulation issue fuses are hard to come by and no attempt should be made by a novice to manufacture home-made fuses. Where hand grenades are procured without a filling charge, use GI blank powder (EC blank fire powder 280 grains). Dummy grenades should be acquired and much time given to practicing with them. Whenever possible, store the fuses separate from the rest of the grenade. Rifle grenades are readily available

in practice types. These can be loaded and will perform as good as issued items. Also, a good supply of flares that could be discharged from a grenade launcher should be kept on hand....."

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The Handbook provides some interesting and highly instructive lessons on the following subjects: "The Use of Explosives in Cutting Steel," "Incendiary Weapons Composition," "Field Expedient Flame Land Mine Devices Used by the U.S. Army," "Booby Traps," "New Molotov Cocktail," "Anti-Vehicular Mines," Railroad Mines, "The Scheele Incendiary Bomb," etc., etc. The Handbook is in a continuing process of compilation, however even in its present stage it provides a fairly adequate reference text for the guerrilla fighter.

Some understanding of the type of instruction imparted to Minutemen members can be gleaned from the following excerpts taken from "General Notes and Hints From September Seminar 1963;" a memorandum listing some of the instruction material presented at a region-wide field training exercise held on September 28 and 29, 1963, on privately-owned property located a short distance from Temecula and attended by some 50-odd members:

"#1--A good method of timing an explosion from ignition point to cap is the use of sawdust mixed with phosphorus. The burning time can be varied, depending upon the amount of sawdust used. The more sawdust added, the longer the burning time.

members. Through personal calls by F.B.I. agents on those members that are known, they attempt to frighten them into inactivity. By infiltration into other conservative organizations they have attempted to turn these people against us, and I am sorry to say that in some cases they've been fairly successful. By repeated smears in the news media they are attempting to turn the general public against us. However, in all of these efforts their success has been less than spectacular.

"Some of our members have asked about Congressman Joelson's demand that the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigate the Minutemen. I doubt seriously if anything will come of this. We have some good friends on the Committee, and in any case we have nothing to worry about. In fact, we may just encourage them to hold just such an investigation to clear the air and for its publicity value. After about three years of work on the organization the F.B.I. has succeeded in identifying approximately one hundred members of our organization. They think they know more than this, but our list contains so many planted names that they can't really tell for sure who are members and who are not....."

While the goal of expanding to a total of 20,000 members by next fall can be discounted as completely unrealistic, there is an ominous note in the goal to become "indestructible," through either "normal police methods" or "conventional military tactics." That has been the aim throughout the existence of the organization, and if that goal should ever become a reality, or even a near-approach to it, the course of action which would ensue can be accurately prophesied by a re-reading of the founding document initiating the organization.

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COMMENTARY

This organization was founded upon the premise that the government of this country does not represent the mandate or will of the people, and that a pro-American government cannot be established by normal political means. The founders arrogated to themselves the right to pass judgment upon what was pro-American and what was anti-American, and then in complete disregard for the duly constituted governmental agencies, they set up a private military force to accomplish their will. That military force is designed as a secret underground apparatus for guerrilla warfare. The members receive training to develop themselves into guerrilla fighters; they study the techniques of terrorists in the use of armaments, booby traps, explosives, etc. They are led by men who have publicly stated, "When our constitutional government is threatened we are morally justified in resorting to violence to discourage communists and their fellow travelers." Notice is thus served that the decision rests with the MM leadership as to what constitutes a threat to our government and what action the MM will take to counter such a threat. That presents the fantastic situation of a private citizen raising a private military force to accomplish by violence whatever objective the citizen decides in his judgment is best for the country! Such a military force is improperly labelled guerrillas; the more precise term is insurgents.

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BLACK MUSLIMS

THE BLACK MUSLIMS

There is in the present Negro civil rights movement in this country an organization which occupies an anamolous position in that while it must be considered as a part of the movement, it is in direct opposition to the aims and purposes of the other leading organizations active in that movement. In general, it can be said that the stated purpose of the leading Negro organizations is to achieve a status of equality for the Negro American. In direct opposition to that campaign for integration, the Black Muslims campaign for complete separation and segregation. Their program is rooted in a religion, and there is generated in their converts a deep and fanatical hatred for the white race. In that highly-charged fanaticism lies a potential present and future danger.

This organization was founded by one Wallace Dodd, also known as Wallace Ford, also known as W. D. Fard, also known as Walli Farrad, and other aliases. He was reportedly born February 26, 1891, in New Zealand to a Polynesian mother and a white father. He resided in the Los Angeles area between 1913 and 1926, and during that period was arrested on charges of narcotics, bootlegging, and assault with a deadly weapon. He served a sentence in San Quentin Prison from June 12, 1926 to May 27, 1929.

Following his release from prison, he appeared in Detroit as a door-to-door solicitor in the Negro district,

selling raincoats and silks. He had an easy flow of language, and he entertained his customers with tales of their heritage and of their destiny as Allah's chosen people. His spiels gained him followers and he conducted meetings in the homes of his converts, then he expanded to regular meetings in rented halls. As his following increased, he developed his thesis that the Negroes are descendants of the tribe of Shabazz, the original inhabitants of the earth; that the religion of that tribe was Islam; and that this is the rightful religion of the tribe's descendants.

Fard claimed that the white race resulted from an unsuccessful genetic experiment conducted by Yacub (Jacob). The creatures were left to perish in the wilderness, but Allah willed that they should rule the earth for the next 6,000 years. Their allotted time expired in 1941, and they have been living on borrowed time ever since. Following the annihilation of the white race, the black race will regain its world-wide control. His definition of the black race included all races except the white.

Fard's preachings found a response in many of the former members of the black nationalist organizations headed by Noble Drew Ali and by Marcus Garvey which had been active in the 1920's. These persons were naturally conditioned to this black supremacy doctrine, with its added lure of a religion which promised them a divinely ordained destiny. The following

increased, and as it did Fard's identity and role became more and more mystically interwoven in the theological doctrine which he expounded. He gave many highly bizarre accounts of his personal history, one of which was that he was an Arabian, a member of a noble family of the non-existent Kingdom of Hehaz. Another was the announcement that he was "The Supreme Ruler of The Universe." Yet another was his claim to have become incarnate in Mecca several hundred years ago as the son of a black father and a white mother. However, to his converts he revealed himself to be Allah, and was apparently so accepted by them.

Fard assertedly authored two manuals for his organization: one of which, "The Secret Ritual of the Nation of Islam," is designed to be memorized verbatim by the students of the organization's parochial schools; the other, "The Teaching For the Lost-Found Nation in a Mathematical Way," was expressed in symbolic language and requires interpretation. In the period, 1930-33, he sought to expand the cult by training ministers to carry his teachings into other areas. Also, as auxiliaries to the temples he established the "University of Islam," the "Muslim Girl's Training Class," and "The Fruit of Islam," the latter being a semi-military security force within the organization.

However, the movement suffered a setback when in November 1932 a fanatical member of the cult performed a human sacrifice. He reportedly persuaded the victim to prostrate himself

upon an improvised altar in a ritual intended to make him the "Savior of the World," and then plunged a knife into the victim's heart. As a result of this event Fard served a jail term, then was ordered to leave Detroit by the police. He later appeared in Los Angeles for a short visit and then disappeared completely.

For some time before his disappearance, Fard had busied himself establishing a hierarchical structure for the movement. He selected and trained a staff of ministers, and from that staff he designated one as the chief minister. His selection for this post was Elijah Poole.

Elijah Poole was born October 7, 1897, near Sandersville, Georgia, the son and grandson of Baptist ministers. Elijah's formal schooling ended at the fourth grade. His family moved to Detroit in 1931, and it was at that time that Elijah Poole became a convert of Fard's cult. Fard's practice, which is still continued today, was to require each new member to drop his slave name and receive his "original" name. Not all new members receive their original names at the time of their initiation, but use the letter "X" after their given names to signify ex-Christian and ex-slave. Fard at first gave Poole the "original" surname of Karriem, but later when he named Poole as his "messenger" he changed Poole's name to Elijah Muhammad, apparently in an attempt to signify his new exalted status.

Following Fard's disappearance in 1934, the leadership of the cult was assumed by Elijah Muhammad. At that time the movement was centered in two temples: the founding one in Detroit, and one in Chicago which had been established sometime in 1932. The Detroit temple was rent with dissension, and beset with problems which challenged his leadership. The internal conflicts at that temple reached a climax when Elijah Muhammad was prosecuted on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor (he refused to transfer his child from the University of Islam to a public school), and was placed on six months' probation. Shortly thereafter he found himself forced to temporarily relinquish control of the Detroit temple, and to move his headquarters to the Chicago temple. The Chicago location has continued to be the headquarters of the movement to the present.

From the Chicago headquarters, Elijah Muhammad actively sought to propagate the cult, but his efforts during that period were not spectacularly successful. There were increases in membership, but the growth was slow and gradual. Then in 1942, following the outbreak of World War II, Elijah Muhammad and 82 others were indicted on charges of sedition and "conspiracy to promote the success of the enemy, making false statements to those about to be inducted into the armed forces, disrupting morale, and causing mutiny." Among the statements attributed to Elijah Muhammad and the others indicted were:

"God bless Hitler," "Our prayers were answered by the bombing of Pearl Harbor," "Japan will be the savior for American Negroes," and "Great Japanese victories leave few victims for us."

Elijah Muhammad was convicted on a charge of counseling draft evasion, and was incarcerated at the Federal Prison in Milan, Michigan, from 1942 to 1946. In prison, he continued his preachings and found many converts among the Negro inmates. Following his release the movement gained momentum and expanded rapidly. Temples were established in various locations throughout the country, predominately in the eastern and mid-western states. The 1950's saw the cult grow into a national organization.

A spark was added to that growth with the advent of Malcolm X as an organizational leader. His name before becoming a Muslim had been Malcolm Little. He was born May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. His father had been a follower of Marcus Garvey in the earlier Black Nationalist movement. Malcolm's formal schooling ended at the eighth grade, and after drifting to New York he became a pimp, burglar, and peddler and user of narcotics.

While serving a ten-year sentence in Massachusetts state prison he became a convert of the cult. When he was paroled in 1952 after having served six years, he underwent the required training, and quickly proved himself to be an outstanding recruiter for the organization. He developed into a spellbinding

orator, and his writings served to bring in new members. As he grew in stature within the organization and as his personal publicity increased, he began to constitute a threat to the leadership of Elijah Muhammad.

From the time of his accession to leadership, Elijah Muhammad had always dominated the cult as the sole authoritarian power, and he had successfully coped with all threats to that absolute authority. The threat presented by Malcolm X was that of a young sub-leader who had proven himself of inestimable value to the organization in increasing the membership, but whose dynamic leadership qualities had at the same time earned him a personal following within the organization. Also, he increasingly propounded a more extreme and more violent doctrine than that which Elijah Muhammad was then expounding.

The breaking point came when, following the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, Malcolm X made a public statement describing the murder as a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Basing his action upon that statement, Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm X from the organization.

While he had only been suspended, Malcolm X chose to make the break final, and he parted with the organization. His departure constituted a major break in the solid structure of the Muslims for Malcolm was followed by a number of his personal adherents at every level. The defectors even included two of Elijah Muhammad's sons. Those defections generated strong

animosities, and caused Elijah Muhammad to write: "Only those who wish to be led to Hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape." As spoken by the Messenger of Allah, the fate of Malcolm X was sealed.

Malcolm X further widened the breach and set the stage for counter-attack when he publicly accused Elijah Muhammad of fathering several illegitimate babies by young secretaries employed at the Muslim's Chicago headquarters. Undoubtedly because of his intimate knowledge of the workings of the organization, Malcolm X understood the gravity of his situation, for he was quoted at that time: "No one can get out without trouble. This thing with me will be resolved by death and violence." He was right. On February 21, 1965, as he began an address before an audience of about 400 in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City, he was cut down by a barrage of bullets fired at point-blank range by three men, one of whom was apprehended as he attempted to flee the auditorium. Police later arrested a man described as a Black Muslim enforcer, Norman 3X Butler, who at the time was free on bail in the shooting in January 1965, of a man said to have been another Black Muslim defector.

Elijah Muhammad disclaimed any connection with the murder of Malcolm X, stating: "We are innocent of Malcolm's death. He preached violence and violence took him away." There were apprehensions that retaliatory acts of revenge would

take place, and they did. Thirty-six hours after the murder, the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7 in Harlem was gutted by fire traceable to a fire bomb. The mosque in San Francisco suffered a fire, but firemen controlled it quickly. Elaborate security measures were taken to protect Elijah Muhammad in his Chicago home and during his appearance before the annual convention of the Muslims held at the Chicago Coliseum, on the weekend of February 27-28, 1965, but there were no incidents. In his address at that convention, Elijah Muhammad delivered himself of this warning: "To seek to snuff out the life of Elijah Muhammad is to invite doom."

At the time of his death, Malcolm X was said to have had a following of about one hundred dedicated adherents and an uncounted number of sympathizers. Since the major number of his close followers were assertedly defectors from the Black Muslims, considerable interest has been generated in the question of what will befall them after losing the dynamic leadership of Malcolm X.

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Turning back to the beginning of this movement, attention is directed to Elijah Muhammad's writings in the "Supreme Wisdom," a guide to Muslim conduct:

"MASTER W FARD MUHAMMAD: Before we ever suffered ourselves, Master W. Fard Muhammad, our God and Savior,

the great Mahdi, Almighty God Allah in person, himself suffered persecution and rejection, all for you and me.

"HISTORY OF THE TRIBE OF SHABAZZ: It is Allah's will and purpose that we should know ourselves; therefore, he came himself to teach us the knowledge of self. Who is better knowing of who we are than God himself? He has declared that we are descendants of the Asian black nation and of the tribe of Shabazz.

"You might ask who is this tribe of Shabazz? Originally, they were the tribe that came with the earth (or that part of it) 66 trillion years ago when a great explosion on our planet divided it into two parts--one we call the earth, the other the moon.

"We the tribe of Shabazz, says Allah (God), were the first to discover the best part of our planet (earth) to live on, which is the rich Nile valley of Egypt and the present seat of the Holy City, Mecca, Arabia.

"ISLAM--THE RELIGION OF THE TRIBE OF SHABAZZ: The religion of Shabazz was none other than Islam. It was also the religion of Yakub, the father of the white race before his fall.

"ISLAM--THE PERFECT RELIGION: Allah says of Islam in the Holy Quran, 'This day I have perfected for you a religion; completed my favor on you and chose for you Islam as a religion.' (Chap. 5:3)"

Fard, the founder of this movement, identified himself to his converts as a divine being, and his successor, Elijah Muhammad, continues with the identification by proclaiming Fard to have been Allah. Elijah, in turn, identifies himself as the Messenger of Allah, and claims direct contact with Allah. In "The Supreme Wisdom," Elijah Muhammad declares:

"All of the answers are directly from the mouth of Allah (God) in the person of Master W. F. Muhammad, to whom all praise is due, the great Mahdi or Messiah, as the Christians say, and he is the Son of Man.

"He alone has taught me and continues to reveal his truth to me....."

A close associate was once quoted as saying, "Muhammad sincerely believes in his self-styled theology" and "he has tremendous faith in himself and in Allah." That attitude is clearly illustrated by his reported response to a query as to his possible successor in the event of his death, to which he was said to have responded:

> "Stop, I know what you're going to say. This is not like that. You can't take my place any more than some one could take Moses' or Jesus' place. Only God can name my successor. 'In the end of the world, God will have one shepherd'--this is the prediction of the Qur-an and the Bible. There's nobody after me but God himself!"

The basic doctrine first expounded by the founder of the cult pertaining to the divinely ordained destiny of the black race is said to be continued in the present preachings in the Temples of Islam. As to the means by which that destiny might be achieved, some indications may be gleaned from the following:

It is reported that at most, if not all, Muslim meetings there is the following symbolic presentation: On one side is a representation of the American flag bearing the caption: "SLAVERY, SUFFERING, DEATH," and opposite it is a representation of the Islamic star and crescent flag bearing the caption: "FREEDOM, JUSTICE, EQUALITY," while between the two is a banner with the words, "Which one will survive a war of ARMAGEDDON?"

Also, when Malcolm X was conducting recruiting meetings in Los Angeles in the early part of 1958, he frequently

stated to his audiences, "If you are afraid to kill the white man, don't attend meetings here." That statement was subsequently repeated many times by Minister Henry X(Dawson) at Muslim meetings in Los Angeles. The Messenger of Allah, Elijah Muhammad, himself was equally explicit when he made the following statement at a later date:

> "Everybody has failed the Negro. The Government has failed; the F.B.I. has failed, Christianity has failed. All we can do is throw these things in the garbage can and then use the garbage can to fight back!
>
> "We must take things in our own hands. We must return to the Mosaic Law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. What does it matter if ten million of us die. There will be seven million of us left and they will enjoy justice and freedom."

Elijah Muhammad was quoted as stating that the pending destruction of the white race would occur before 1970 (more recently extended to the year 2000).

Elijah Muhammad's attitude toward using the voting strength of the Muslims as a means of gaining his objectives is illustrated in his quoted response to such a question put to him by writer Bob Lucas:

> ".....We don't want to use this rotten system of voting that is all in the white man's favor. You can't fight him with his own stick....."

Whatever the means of accomplishment, the present objectives of the cult are set forth in the official organ, "Muhammad Speaks," wherein the Messenger of Allah presents a 10-point program of "What the Muslims Want":

"1. We want freedom. We want a full and complete freedom.

"2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color.

"3. We want equality of opportunity. We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society.

"4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own--either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years--until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.

"Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.

"5. We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as in the South. . . .

"6. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the

so-called Negro throughout the United States.

"7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities -- NOW.

"We do not believe that after 400 years of free or nearly free labor, sweat and blood which has helped America become rich and powerful, that so many thousands of black people should have to subsist on relief, charity or live in poor houses.

"8. We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land.

"9. We want equal education--but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers. . . .

"10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hinderance or suppression.

"These are some of the things that we, the Muslims, want for our people in North America."

The cult sponsors a number of programs aimed at the advancement and betterment of its members. It conducts training classes for the women in housekeeping, sewing, cooking, rearing of children, and proper conduct. There are employment

services, and assistance in the establishment of small businesses is offered. There is a long-range education program aimed at the establishment of Muslim "Universities" throughout the nation, and an ambitious "Educational Center" of Islam to be financed through voluntary contributions.

Like all other organizations of its nature, there are many conflicting statements made concerning its active membership strength. The true strength is a closely guarded secret, and no official figures have been made public. The estimates extend over an extremely wide range. The most recent estimate was provided by a disillusioned ex-Muslim named Aubrey Barnette, who, in an article appearing in the February 27, 1965, issue of the Saturday Evening Post stated:

> ".....I have been to every big city where we have a mosque and, giving the Muslims all the best of it, I would say that the national membership--men, women, and children--runs less than 7,000, down by more than half from the high of 15,000 in 1960-61. The population is not growing. It is collapsing....."

Within the organization there is an inner organization called the Fruit of Islam (FOI) which is recruited from amongst the able-bodied men in the cult. The Supreme Captain of the FOI is Raymond Sharrieff, a son-in-law of Elijah Muhammad, and second in command is Elijah Muhammad, Jr. The chain of command is direct from those individuals to the "section" in every temple, and each FOI section operates outside the control of the minister. The functions of the

FOI are varied; they screen members for admission to meetings, they maintain order at the meetings particularly at times when the audience is whipped to high emotional pitches, they act as bodyguards for the ministers and other officials, they investigate instances of misbehavior or heterodoxy on the part of any member, then act as judges in determining the guilt or innocence of the accused member, finally executing their own punishment upon the convicted member. A further function would appear to be that of "enforcer," in its gangland meaning, as was apparently evidenced in the recent murder of Malcolm X.

As described in the aforementioned article by ex-Muslim Aubrey, the FOI maintain a tight control over the membership through their continuous disciplining of the members. Beatings assertedly constitute the common punishment. Other observers have described the FOI as being a goon squad whose autocratic and brutal actions serve to not only hold the members in line, but also to hold them in the organization.

The FOI members reportedly are trained in karate and are required to maintain themselves in the peak of physical condition. Reports have been received of Muslim rifle clubs, but no authoritative information has been received concerning such activity.

On the national scene there have been many incidents of violence involving Muslims. While most of them have been

clashes involving a limited number of persons, there have been some of such proportions as to give indication of the danger potential in this movement.

> In 1935 in Chicago two hundred Muslims rioted in a courtroom and attempted to storm the bench while one of their members was on trial. Before the melee was over, one policeman was dead and eleven had been injured. Two of the Muslims were shot in the clash.
>
> On April 26, 1957, policemen in Harlem's 28th Precinct responded to a call of two Negroes fighting. At the scene a Black Muslim entered into an altercation with a policeman and was knocked to the ground. Within an hour the word was spread throughout the area, and some 500 Negroes were milling around the police station. The then Muslim leader, Malcolm X, was called to the station, and after negotiating with the police captain for the release of the Muslim, he stepped into the street, made a gesture of dismissal, and reportedly the mob dispersed immediately.
>
> On July 7, 1957, in Detroit a Muslim speaker harangued a street crowd to a point where several of the Negroes began attacking white passers-by. Within a very short time a full-scale riot was in progress leading to the injury of 19 persons including eight policemen.
>
> On April 27, 1962 in Los Angeles, police officers halted a car to question the occupants, two Negro men. The Negroes attacked the officers, and immediately a large number of Negro men poured out of a nearby Muslim temple and joined in the fray. Police reinforcements arrived on the scene, and a melee occurred in which one Muslim was killed and seven others were wounded. One policeman was shot and several others wounded.

Those samplings serve to illustrate the highly explosive emotional level to which the Muslims are keyed.

During the early period of growth and expansion of the cult, the temples were numbered in the sequence of their

establishment. Thus, the original temple in Detroit was Number 1, the Chicago temple Number 2, etc. The first temple established in California was located in San Diego, and it was numbered 8. Thereafter followed the temple in Oakland numbered 26, and the one in Los Angeles numbered 27. When the numbers reached into the thirties, the Muslim leaders discontinued that system and simply designated their temples by address. Temples have been established in many locations throughout this state; some have flourished and others have not. Many have experienced fluctuating careers of growth and decline, openings, and closings, with intermittent revivals. Reportedly, it is in the two major population centers that the temples maintain continuing strength. Temples 26 and 27 are said to be the most active and to have the most membership in this state.

California law enforcement agencies have received reports of Muslim rifle clubs and of shooting matches participated in by Muslims. There have also been reports of a military-type training program conducted for the "Fruit of Islam" members. Reports of this nature are a continuing source of concern to the law enforcement agencies of this state.

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COMMENTARY

The Muslim cult provides a singular attraction for the misfits and the maladjusted of the Negro race, for it offers them a religion promising a fulfillment of their deep racial hatreds. That religion designates them as the chosen people of Allah, and promises them the destruction of the hated white race and the return to supremacy of the black race. It thus combines religious fervor with race hatred in generating fanaticism in the most extreme degree. The potential of danger presented by these fanatics is clearly manifest.

Newer, smaller, black nationalist movements with which Malcolm X was associated following his departure from the Muslims pose similar threats to the peace and security of the State.

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